The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the north, from Porto Salvação to Tampûtãwa. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scattering of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré, so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:22] I found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest. The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer, until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
698 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
•[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes
[501] out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caetingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

- 174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr., the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caetingas" as Tupí. To
[197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

241 171 The Karajá plots are wretched as compared with those of the Tapirapé. I found Karajá Indians living north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River who suffered hunger for several years because they had always planted on the same spot. The Araguaia had flooded it several times, depriving them of the fruit of their labor and punishing them for their lack of foresight. The fact that this happened to a people who had known the river so thoroughly and for such a long time goes to show that they are not very adept and capable at tilling the soil. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph on p. 191 and the first paragraph on p. 192 are omitted.]

241 [221] [171] [113: 192] From June to August, that is to say, during the driest months of the year, the Tapirapé cut down forest growth to make new plots. The felling of trees is carried out by the method so widespread among South American tribes and also used by the White colonists of Brazil and neighboring countries. It consists of causing a whole cluster of trees to topple together by inciting them in such a way that they all must fall in the same direction when their swaying neighbor leans against them from the opposite side. The largest tree in the group, usually a veritable giant, is felled in such a way that it drags to the ground along with it all its companions weakened by the axe. [Ed., the last half of p. 192 and the first paragraph of p. 193 are omitted.]

171 241 [113:193] The following note by Steere (383) refers to the Tamamadí, an Aruak [Arawak] tribe of the Purus River: "The first civilized men who visited them say that, at that time, they incised the trees in the shape of a belt, removing the bark with the stone ax. Then, they felled the trees by burning them with firewood piled up around their base."

Stradelli (378) provides a more detailed description of the same procedure as used by the Indians of the upper Uaupés: "The ax is used to make an initial incision all around the tree, which bruises rather than cuts the bark. When this has been done, and after a few days have elapsed to allow the bruised spot to dry or at least to wither, they pile up around the tree a lot of dry wood and then set fire to it. The bruised part, which is at least withered if the time was not sufficient for it to dry, naturally catches fire more readily than the rest. Once the fire has gone out, they remove the layer of charcoal resulting from this initial procedure and scrape the wood bare. They immediately light a new fire, then remove

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned [177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé, 174 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitawa who had used them, or anyone 412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Amanayé, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that 174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects 412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow") 439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have [177] used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out 241 as a collective endeavor called apachiré by the Tapirapé (the 976 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tauapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

241 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used
476 axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tediousness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. [461] Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the
221 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more
241 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

To plant yams, carĩ [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc,
244 the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to
[412] one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of carĩ knobs, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize,
241 peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The pigs,

241 incidentally, although separated from one another by strips of forest, are not provided with fences or scarecrows.

171 512 Gabriel Soares de Sousa (377) wrote of the sixteenth century Tupí in Bahia: "When the Tupinambá go to their gardens, they work only from seven in the morning until midday." Except for the apachirá, which involves afternoon work, this also applies to the Tapirapé. The couples leave the village early in the morning and return at the hottest hours. The Portuguese chronicler goes on to say (ibid.): "The males customarily clear the forest growth, burn it, and dress the ground, while the females plant the food-stuffs and weed them." Among the Tapirapé, not only do the men have the same duties as the ancient Tupinambá, but aside from this they also do the planting and weeding and carry the large baskets in which the farm produce is taken home. The women participate only in the planting of maize, peanuts, and cotton, that is to say, both sexes sow these plants and harvest them.

171 462

Krause wrote of the Karajá (2, 243): "They say that the planting of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, and urucú falls to the women." The division of labor among these Indians is exactly the same as among the Tapirapé, as far as the dressing of the ground, the planting of manioc and carí, and the conveyance of the large baskets are concerned, for all those tasks devolve to the male sex in both tribes (cf. Krause ibid. and Plate 15).

Among the majority of other South American Indians, it is the woman who carries heavy burdens from the plot, as, for example, among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 214; Max Schmidt 2, 429) and among those of the Guianas and Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 80 and Plate 53). Von den Steinen's generalization (loc. cit.) is incorrect, however, when he states of the Indians in that Xingu region: "As in all of Brazil [113: 197], not only does the home preparation of manioc fall to the women, but so does its planting." I have already mentioned that this planting is male work among the Tapirapé and Karajá, and, according to Koch-Grünberg (loc. cit.), the same applies to the Tauliping and their neighbors.

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé also cultivate various plants in large quantities. These will be listed in the following chapter.

231 When I was in Tampiitaua, there were no domestic animals aside from dogs and chickens. There were no vestiges of a pair of

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitawa. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaninė in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé, 171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar- 235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and- green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with 459 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles [412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá, [249] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with more axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intertribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned, 797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with [412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay at- tention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This 432 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade 123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collec- tion, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

262 824 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit" in the Parecí Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled [252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryum spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvĩpé.

243 252 262 824 These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L., avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abatí in Staden (c 2), auatí in Léry (120), ubetim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatí in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 267 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

244 252 262 824 The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded, and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 196, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

262 824 [114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts, [262] maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century [241] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that requires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's [251] first two years so as not to endanger his life.

197 17 244 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambiquara] of

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people.

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt.

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilineal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system.

/407 cont./

221 226 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they [352] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers [489] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out: perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 [342] [252] These people seem to be very numerous. The number of houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to 513 352 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

•241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly 231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand- 224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to [134] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

206 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 287 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[Text continues on p. 344]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1960) 1943
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241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[923] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden
plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared
each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and
then abandoned. A man plants such crops as maize, beans, and peppers on
the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot
with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through
February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested
at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time
when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently
hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent
trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it
where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tayassu pecari*), deer,
peccary (*Tayassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*)
are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in
piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa
guianensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistence, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with
little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are
such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara
chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact
with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly
the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used
for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra
hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and
cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central
ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings
with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple
591 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
592 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life
separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such
a household are closely related by kinship; yet each large household has

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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INTRODUCTION

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed as late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings formed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large patches of manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aipi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, bark (*Dioscorea* sp.), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's society groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property.

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *ajuricaba* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus, 1937, "Os grupos de cooperação e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", in *Boletim de Antropologia Amadiana*, no. 10-111, São Paulo.

[p. 61]

[p. 60 blank]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large herds of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the herd (21).

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a young shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central place followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Pantoni, was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses.

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kasi. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people.

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans must "fight" against Thunder and his as-

(21) Many such prophecies are found recorded, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Leiong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampinfua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 50 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occured since my first visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

648 [666]

Conceição do Araguaia, as was Father Luis Palha's plan." He says that these Indians wish to build a village near the houses of the above-mentioned São Pedro ranch, on the right margin of the Tapirapé, and he adds: "If the Indian Service is not in a position to establish a post for the Tapirapé Indians, it would be worth studying the possibility of entrusting Mr. Lucio da Luz with their protection. Mr. Lucio da Luz is a man of great means, and he would not be primarily interested in the meager wages of a man-in-charge or whatever he might be to those Indians, but would do this rather out of the humanitarian feelings which he seems to possess."

648 667 [341] [511]

Whatever the case may be, there are three basic needs to be considered in any resettlement of the Tapirapé: 1) the existence of an extensive forest adequate for the large gardens of this essentially farming tribe; 2) the exclusion of all representatives of our civilization who are not employees of the Indian Service, anthropologists, or physicians associated with the Service; 3) the exclusion of members of other aboriginal tribes.

I believe that Father Lelong is correct when he writes in his letter with reference to the Kaiapó who invaded Tapirapé territory: "Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins." These ten men, however, should be under the orders of the Indian Service so as to catch the culprits in the slaughter without shedding blood and take them to the idyllic penitentiary established at the Indian post of Icatu in the state of São Paulo. One of the most urgent tasks is unquestionably the lasting pacification of the northern Kaiapó who, unlike the Akuê-Chavante, have the habit of leaving the traditional boundaries of their territory to attack harmless neighbors (cf. what I wrote about this in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 102, São Paulo, 1945, pp. 123-138).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Aza- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of successive culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[9] Tapirapé shamans travel widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" (special gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. Now 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Pauchoi, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kaworahu, a culture hero, to com-

[9] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinamba (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinamba, comme pour la plupart des tribus sudaméricaines, certaines personnalités douées d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des mortels ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présente à leurs yeux, mais de ce fait elles sont restées pour les indigènes quelque chose de vague et d'imprécis. Je veux dire par là que, même elle ont servi de cadre, les actes, et la mise bout à bout en est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que ponctuellement à la suite d'incidents divers."

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

[37] The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 133 152 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

241 [394] **Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, carâ (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for 241 their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 616 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 478 festival (apučirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, generally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants [223] together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apučirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaó) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [162] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, carâ, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted [361] with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clearings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (nunikahó) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

533 [64] [171] [177]

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the *Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

535 [24]

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games are unknown.

526 [171] [525]

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked

276 755 [751] 276 756 [789]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

Tapirapé religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anhanga (spirit or shadow).

The anhanga (shown, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tapirapé*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anhanga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anhanga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anhanga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupilke beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Karawara, the Thunder, lives on distant Morotawá surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the tupã (probably equivalent to the *Tupinambá* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The tupã travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sounds of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the tupã shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the tupã against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in gaining some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pandé) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large hayville-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunzui, Wanzanamo, Kamanare, Mariapawugo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is